

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01754 01 OF 02 020641Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 HA-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00  
ICAE-00 INRE-00 /110 W  
-----127692 020644Z /21

O 020618Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1097  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01754

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: MAY 1 MEETING OF CONTACT GROUP WITH SWAPO

1. SUMMARY. CONTACT GROUP (AT PERM REP LEVEL) MET  
FOR AN HOUR-AND-A-HALF PM MAY 1 WITH SAM NUJOMA AND  
FOUR OTHER SWAPO MEMBERS. NUJOMA REQUESTED FURTHER DIS-  
CUSSIONS BETWEEN THE FIVE AND THE ENTIRE SWAPO NEGOTI-  
ATING TEAM FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF  
THE SPECIAL SESSION. NUJOMA WAS INSISTENT THAT ALL OF  
THE ISSUES MENTIONED IN HIS APRIL 28 SPEECH HAVE STILL  
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TO BE RESOLVED, AND OUR EFFORTS TO GET HIM TO PUT THOSE  
ISSUES IN ORDER OF PRIORITY WERE UNPRODUCTIVE. WE TOLD  
NUJOMA THAT WE SAW NO DIFFICULTY IN HOLDING FURTHER DIS-  
CUSSIONS, BUT WE SAW NO LIKELIHOOD OF OPENING THE  
PROPOSAL TO SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE. MEETING WAS EXASPERATING,  
AS SWAPO SHOWED NO WILLINGNESS TO BEND. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CONTACT GROUP (AT PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE LEVEL) MET FOR AN HOUR-AND-A-HALF PM MAY 1 WITH SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA ACCOMPANIED BY GURIRAB, TJONGARERO, SHIHEPO, AND NAUYALA. MEETING BEGAN WITH SWAPO PASSING TO CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS A TELEX FROM INTERNAL SWAPO (DATAFAXED TO IO/UNP, ATTN: TOM NILES) DENOUNCING THE RECENT DETENTIONS OF SWAPO MEMBERS IN NAMIBIA AND QUESTIONING WHETHER THESE ACTIONS WERE INDICATIVE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE BY SOUTH AFRICA.

3. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY REPLIED THAT IT WAS THE SITUATION WITHIN NAMIBIA WHICH UNDERSCORED THE URGENT NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT. HE ADDED THAT HE IS NOT SURPRISED AT THE DETENTIONS AND THAT SWAPO SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL ACT ANY DIFFERENTLY UNTIL THERE IS A SETTLEMENT. SIMILARLY, WE HAD WARNED SOUTH AFRICA THAT SWAPO'S INCREASED EFFORTS IN THE FIGHTING WERE TO BE EXPECTED IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREEMENT. MCHENRY THEN SUGGESTED THAT WE FOCUS THE DAY'S MEETING ON TWO PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS: (A) HOW WE SHOULD PROCEED FROM HERE; AND (B) WHAT ISSUES REMAIN TO BE DISCUSSED. MCHENRY SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE LIST OF REMAINING ISSUES COULD BE NARROWED AND IF SWAPO COULD PUT THESE REMAINING ISSUES IN ORDER OF PRIORITY SO THAT OUR ATTENTION AND EFFORTS COULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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CENTRATED ON THE MAJOR ONES.

4. NUJOMA BEGAN HIS RESPONSE WITH HIS USUAL STATEMENT OF APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE AND THEN STATED HIS VIEW THAT, AS SOON AS THE SPECIAL SESSION IS OVER, THE FIVE SHOULD HOLD FURTHER MEETINGS WITH THE ENTIRE SWAPO NEGOTIATING TEAM. (HE LATER SUGGESTED THAT THESE MEETINGS COULD BEGIN FRIDAY, MAY 5--THIS WOULD ALLOW ENOUGH TIME, HE FELT, TO BRING REST OF NEGOTIATING TEAM TO NEW YORK.) NUJOMA LISTED THREE ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION: WALVIS BAY, THE ROLE OF THE UN, AND THE LOCATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE. HOWEVER, IT QUICKLY BECAME CLEAR THAT SWAPO SUBSUMES A WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES UNDER THE RUBRIC OF THE "ROLE OF THE UN". NUJOMA STATED THAT THESE WERE MAJOR ISSUES YET TO BE RESOLVED AND THAT IT WOULD NOT HELP ANYONE IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WERE TO CONSIDER NAMIBIA PRIOR TO RESOLVING THEM. IN A VEILED THREAT, HE STATED THAT IF WE INSISTED ON GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHOUT FIRST RESOLVING THOSE ISSUES, SWAPO WOULD BE "BOUND TO BRING OUT OUR DIFFERENCES" IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. NUJOMA ENDED THIS INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY STAT-

ING THAT SWAPO COULD NOT AGREE TO THE PRESENT PROPOSAL  
BECAUSE IT IS A "ONE-SIDED PROPOSAL AIMED AT PUTTING OUR  
ENEMY IN AN ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION."

5. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY STOPPED HIM IMMEDIATELY, SAYING  
QUIETLY BUT FIRMLY THAT OUR TALKS WILL GET NOWHERE IF  
THERE CONTINUES TO BE A HURLING OF ACCUSATIONS. "IT  
MAY BE YOUR VIEW THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD RESULT IN PUT-  
TING SOUTH AFRICA IN AN ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION, BUT  
IT IS COMPLETELY UNHELPFUL FOR YOU TO DESCRIBE THAT AS OUR  
'AIM'." MCHENRY WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE RAISED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01754

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

THIS POINT BECAUSE OF OTHER ACCUSATIONS AND BECAUSE OF  
HIS BELIEF THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO CLEAR THE AIR.

6. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE DID NOT  
BELIEVE THAT THE FIVE WOULD HAVE ANY PROBLEM  
WITH HOLDING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS BUT THAT THE GROUP COULD

NOT RESPOND DEFINITELY ON THAT QUESTION AT THE TIME.  
HE ADDED THAT IF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD, HE  
ASSUMED THEY WOULD BE AT THE CONTACT GROUP LEVEL.  
PAUL LAPOINTE (DEPUTY PERM REP OF CANADA) AGREED THAT HE  
DID NOT SEE ANY PROBLEM WITH ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS BUT  
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SAID THAT HE DID NOT WANT SWAPO TO BE UNDER ANY FALSE  
IMPRESSIONS. IT MIGHT BE GOOD, LA POINTE CONTINUED,  
TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS AIMED AT MAKING THE PROPOSAL CLEARER,  
BUT HE DID NOT WANT TO LEAVE SWAPO WITH THE FEELING  
THAT THE FIVE ARE WILLING TO REOPEN THE PROPOSAL TO  
SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE. THIS LED TO WHAT WAS PERHAPS  
NUJOMA'S MOST OUTLANDISH STATEMENT OF THE EVENING. NUJOMA  
LAUNCHED INTO HIS FAMILIAR ARGUMENT THAT THE FIVE ARE  
TRYING TO FORCE THEIR PROPOSAL ON SWAPO. BY ATTEMPTING  
TO FORCE THE PROPOSAL ON SWAPO, HE SAID, "THE FIVE HAVE  
NOW BECOME THE COLONIAL POWER OF NAMIBIA".

7. THROUGHOUT THE MEETING EFFORTS ON THE PART  
ON THE PART OF THE FIVE TO GET SWAPO TO NARROW THE LIST  
OF REMAINING ISSUES WERE FRUITLESS. NUJOMA INSISTED  
THAT ALL OF THE ISSUES MENTIONED IN HIS APRIL 28  
SPEECH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WERE YET TO BE RESOLVED.  
HE MADE A SPECIAL POINT OF THEIR UNCERTAINTY OF THE PRO-  
POSALS GIVEN THE NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE.  
SIMILARLY, OUR EFFORTS TO GET HIM TO PUT THE  
ISSUES IN SOME ORDER OF PRIORITY WERE UNPRODUCTIVE.  
AMBASSADOR MCHENRY THEN COMMENTED THAT SWAPO'S  
REAL DIFFICULTIES WITH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT SEEM  
TO STEM FROM AN UNDERSTANDABLE AND MAMMOTH DISTRUST  
OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS--A DISTRUST WHICH  
SEEMED TO EXTEND TO THE CONTACT GROUP. HE CONCLUDED  
THAT HE DID NOT KNOW HOW TO REMOVE THAT DISTRUST BUT  
THAT HOPEFULLY THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE ABLE TO CON-  
VINCE SWAPO THAT THE PROPOSAL STAND AS WRITTEN  
(I.E., THERE ARE NO SECRET AGREEMENTS) AND NOT AS SOUTH  
AFRICA DESCRIBED THEM.

8. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT THE DIFFERENCES  
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BETWEEN SWAPO AND THE FIVE LIE NOT IN THE PROPOSAL  
BUT IN THE INABILITY OF SWAPO TO VISUALIZE HOW CHANGED  
THE SITUATION WOULD BE IN NAMIBIA ONCE THE UNITED NATIONS  
ARRIVED ON THE SCENE. THE UN ROLE (WHAT KIND OF TROOPS

THERE WOULD BE, HOW THEY WOULD BE STATIONED, WHAT TASKS THEY WOULD PERFORM) IS WHAT MUST BE MADE CLEARER-- NOT THROUGH REVISING THE PROPOSAL BUT SIMPLY THROUGH INCREASING THE UNDERSTANDING OF HOW PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS WORK. HE ADDED THAT TO OPEN THE PAPER TO REVISIONS WOULD BE TO LET SOUTH AFRICA OFF THE HOOK. THIS LATTER POINT WAS REITERATED BY UK AMBASSADOR RICHARD, BUT NUJOMA SIMPLY REPLIED THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA CHANGES ITS MIND AND REJECTS THE PROPOSAL, SWAPO WILL ENSURE MILITARILY THAT SOUTH AFRICA RETURNS TO THE FOLD.

9. COMMENT. THE MEETING WAS FRUSTRATING AND SOMEWHAT TENSE. SWAPO DID NOT BUDGE AN INCH ON ITS WELL-KNOWN COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE PROPOSAL, THUS PROMPTING QUESTIONS FROM THE FIVE OF WHETHER SWAPO INTENDED US TO START THE WHOLE NEGOTIATING PROCESS OVER AGAIN FROM THE BEGINNING. SWAPO'S UNWILLINGNESS TO BEND MAY BE DUE IN PART TO THE ONGOING SPECIAL SESSION AND TO THEIR INABILITY TO ALTER THEIR POSITION WITHOUT CONSULTING THE MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATING GROUP NOT PRESENT IN NEW YORK. FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE SWAPO MEETING, THE CONTACT GROUP MET PRIVATELY TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS. REPORT ON THAT MEETING FOLLOWS SEPTEL. END COMMENT.  
YOUNG

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SESSION (UN SPECIAL)  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 02 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Subject:** MAY 1 MEETING OF CONTACT GROUP WITH SWAPO  
**TAGS:** PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, US, UK, FR, GE, CA, (NUJOMA, SAM)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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